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WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*.

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either.

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults.

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 765 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was customary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

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727 266 602 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

● 728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

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or friends, came together, war being *tapu*. Those visiting in an unfriendly or enemy valley always came, however, armed against possible eventualities, and held themselves ready to depart suddenly, for such times were frequently chosen by the inspirational priest to quickly terminate the festival and announce that his god was demanding human sacrifices. 728●

The making of peace was called *e ha'a oa i te toua* or *ha'a tatae* or *tutuki me* (8) and the coconut leaf (*koua'ehi*), the formal sign of peace, was called *kopiti koua'ehi*. (*Kopiti* meant to make an alliance.) When a proposal for peace war made, a representative of the aggressors came upon the hills near the enemy valley and shot off his gun in their hearing. He was then allowed to come and make his proposal. According to Père Siméon (7) at the time of making peace a sacrifice called *heaka vai titi* was offered at the temple. Peace having been agreed upon the pact was sealed by the offering of a victim. Another account says that a messenger seeking peace would go to the enemy carrying a *temanu* branch ornamented with white bark cloth, this symbol being called *manumanu*. This insured safe conduct to its bearer who was known as *pa toua*. The rite of *heaka vai titi* is described by Père Jean (19) as follows:

> When two people were at war, a woman was captured, her body was anointed, decorated with ornaments, and burnt on the sea-shore on a pyre. The ashes were allowed to fall on the shore and to be carried away by the sea. Any women who witnessed this rite would die.

The major formality for peace making, called *hami oa*, was that which was used also for sealing permanent alliances between tribes. Human victims and a tortoise were carried to the temple of the other tribe by the people of the tribe making the pact or peace. The principal priests of the respective tribe received the sacrifices, offered them to the god, and promised that thence forward there would be peace between the tribes—that they were allied, *kopake* (9). An alliance thus sealed was also called *pona hu'u kopake* (*pona*, knot; *hu'u*, riches; *kopake*, allies). Garcia [825] speaks of the great value on Nuku Hiva of turtles and of their use by chiefs as gifts in making alliances with other chiefs. The following note of Mr. Linton's evidently describes an example of this exchange of sacrifices and appears to indicate that the custom of exchange between tribes thus allied was more or less permanent:

> The last *heana* in Pua Ma'u was sent by the queen of Moea, Tauahapaia, to the chief of Pua Ma'u. The body was taken to the *me'ae* (temple) of Pou Ani, and left there. The arrangement was a reciprocal one, *heana* taken by the Pahati being carried to Moea and exposed in the *me'ae* there. This was a recognized method of cementing alliances.

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728 There is an interesting native story of a feast place on the road which runs overland between Atu Ona and Hana Iapa which belonged to two men from the Ha'a Mau region, the people of which were bitter enemies of the people of Atu Ona. At this *tohua* it is said that in recent times these men used to exact from all travellers tribute in the form of personal property, such as ornaments or clothing. [486]

FORTS AND PLACES OF REFUGE

712 Forts, places of refuge, and observation posts were used throughout the group. As terms for these Dordillon gives *pa*, *papuhikatu* and *hakaua* (8). At Atu Ona there is an observation post high on the mountain ridge which juts out on the western side of the valley, overlooking the valley of Ta'a Oa and the road over which warriors from that valley had to pass. In Haka Ui valley on Nuku Hiva, off the western side about half way up, there is a tiny valley that is completely walled in by a high mass of basalt. The only entrance to this is a hole in the lower side of this wall. Inside, I was told, there used to be water and pits in which to store breadfruit paste for feeding refugees. This was an impregnable place of refuge for the inhabitants of this valley. At Haka he Tau on Ua Pou on the summit of the ridge forming the western side of the valley, there is a long platform that served as a place of refuge for women and children during times of war, and also as an observation post. In the upper section of this valley is another fort, which I did not see, that was described to me as a walled enclosure. This was regarded as a very much better place of refuge, as it was provided with water and with pits for preserved breadfruit paste. Remains of the ancient wooden stockades are, so far as I know, not to be seen anywhere today. These are described by Porter (24, p. 82) as follows:

> They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require Europeon artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones.

The appearance of a large fort in Tai-pi Valley is also described by this writer (24, p. 108):

> We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprise, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving

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527 feasts; in connection with every large feast, there was a great deal of organized labor, which might well be studied under industries—the building of special houses, the preparation of drums, food, and so on; and in connection both with industries and festivals, there were always elaborate religious performances and rites—chants, dances, *tapu*, and sacrifices were a part of every large festival. In considering the great festivals, it is difficult to know whether the festivities should be regarded as adjuncts of the religious rites, or vice versa. A part of practically every feast place was a temple (*me'ae*). It is only a matter of point of view whether one regards the feast place as an adjunct to the temple, or the temple as an adjunct to the feast place. The truth is that neither was an adjunct to the other, that both were parts of a unit in the tribal community center before the chief's house, just as work, religious rites, and festivals formed for the native a unit in his private and public activities.

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The times of celebration of the great festivals were regulated by the seasons. Every great occasion was marked by an enormous feast; hence it was only in seasons of abundance that such feasts could be celebrated. This practical limitation on account of provisions seems on the surface to be the explanation of the fact that all of these great festivals were celebrated when good breadfruit harvests had been garnered. Just what magical elements there may be in this allocation of the great festivals during the season of abundance is uncertain. It seems probable that all of the festivals formed parts of a period of general celebration during the time of abundance in the Marquesas, as in Hawaii and Tahiti. Langsdorff wrote (18, p. 158):

> In days of plenty, these gay people have a variety of amusements of different kinds. At the time of year when the breadfruit is ripe, so that there is great abundance of it, the chiefs and principal people of the valley make popular festivals; for this purpose they collect swine, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and many kinds of roots, so as to feast the people for some time.

The manner in which truces were made in war time in order to allow for the preparation for and celebration of fêtes is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 169):

527 728 The wars with the Tai-pihs are continued by land, until one of the two kings (and they have both a right to it) shall demand a truce for the purpose of celebrating their dance-feast, the Olympic games of these savages, and which according to their customs must not be deferred too long. In order to celebrate this they agree upon a term, and all parties, friends as well as enemies, assist in the preparations; and as a proof that these coarse, bloodthirsty men have no pleasure in a continued state of warfare, but are glad to live occasionally in peace and security, they frequently prolong the time necessary to prepare for these feasts, which last only a few days. Six months had elapsed since the last truce was proclaimed, and eight months longer were to pass before the feast began; although no other prepara-

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tions were required than to make a new place upon which the dance is to be celebrated. After the termination of the feast, they return home, and the war recommences in all its vigour. From the moment a truce is announced, which is done by planting a branch of a cocoa tree on the top of the mountain, the war instantly terminates. 527 728

THE FEAST PLACE

The feast place called *taha ko'ina* (*taha*, place) consisted of a paved dance area (*tohua*), always roughly in the form of a parallelogram and sometimes of a great size, surrounded by platforms (*paepae*). On the dance area there was frequently, if not always, a special space marked off by stone slabs set on edge for the choirs of old men who chanted. *Hii tohua* is given by Dordillon (8) as meaning seated on stones around the public place; *tuu*, as being the name of the square place surrounded by red tufa stone where rites over sacrifices were performed. There were stone back rests (*kepo*) against which chanters leaned. On the paved area itself were sometimes special small platforms on which a chief or chiefess sat. On the platforms at the times of festivals temporary houses were erected, different platforms and different parts of platforms being reserved for special purposes. At one end of or on one side of the area was a place of sacrifice (*me'ae*) on which stood the house of the high priest (*tau'a*) and where the priests and their assistants performed their rites. Opening on the feast place or near to it was always the chief's house; and on or near it was the warriors' *tapu* house. These dance areas were regarded as the property of the tribal chief, and as such constituted community centers for the tribe. 527 349

The construction of a new feast place was itself, apparently, always a part of some great festival, such as, for example, a fête for the purpose of honoring the son of a chief or a great memorial celebration for the dead. In other words when a new feast place was made as a part of such a celebration, the building of it was a part of the rite, the feast place and the new temple constituting, so to speak, a votive offering.

Just as a man desiring to build a small house platform would give a small feast inviting his friends to come bringing stones, so the chief who desired to honor his son greatly instituted a great festival, inviting his people, and his allies, to bring stones, to aid in the work, and to make merry. When such a feast place was to be made all the tribe was called in and worked under the direction of the chief and his executives and master craftsmen. The work was *tapu* and the place and workers had to be kept free from contamination through contact with womankind. The great stones that were used in the platforms were brought by groups of men or one very large stone might be brought by a whole tribe working together. A tribe, or people, living by a quarry would contribute the cut

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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

178 883 833 [648] [684]

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

178 585 [583] [584] [554] [556]

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

178 595 [648] [797] [628] [728] [584] [622]